

The Changing Role of Urban Green Space in Britain and America

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영 · 미 도시 공원녹지의 역할변천에 관한 연구

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요 약

19세기 영국과 미국의 도시공원 녹지의 발생은 자연주의 사조와 산업혁명과 같은 그 시대적 배경과 밀접한 관계가 있다. 한편 한국의 급변하는 사회정세와 맞물려 변화하는 한국의 도시공원 녹지의 역할도 현 상태에서 재검토 되어야 할 시점에 있다고 생각된다. 이에 본 리뷰(Review)는 영국과 미국의 도시공원 녹지 발달과 관련된 문헌을 중심으로 각 시대별 도시공원 녹지의 역할에 크게 영향을 미친 사회 역사적 요인을 분석하여 추후 한국의 도시공원 녹지 역할의 변화에 영향을 미칠 요인 분석을 예견케 하는 하나의 본보기를 제시하고자 한다.

1. Introduction

Chadwick(1966) once argued that the public use of open space is not a recent idea but it is as old as human settlement. However, it is probable that the urban park has been regarded as one of the most important objects with which we landscape architects have dealt, since the creation of Birkenhead Park designed by Sir Joseph Paxton in 1844. In addition, the success of Birkenhead Park, as Laurie (1979) stated, stimulated an intense period of park building, as well as initiating the public park movement in Europe.

Moreover, the creation of Central Park in New York, the creator F. L. Olmsted was inspired by the Birkenhead Park, impacted greatly on the design style of most of the early American parks in relation to the naturalist movement.

Therefore, history, as historian Carr argued, is "an unending dialogue between the past and the present" (Carr, 1961, p. 30); where the interpretation of the present through the past occur at the same time. In the history of open space development it is important to understand the historical facts which have had an impact on the role of green space.

The evolution of the relationship between man and open space is often argued with reference to the changing social functions of green space.

Therefore, it was Chadwick (1966) who argued that the conception of urban park is likely to change as ideas of urban patterns are changing (Chadwick, 1966, p. 316). In addition, Einsele(1981) stated that the relationship is largely influenced by the changing aspects of society (Einsele, 1981, p. 899).

Laurie(1979) argued that the alteration of the city's physical form is in accordance with the attitudes, values, and world view of the society. He emphasised that the plans of major American and European cities in 1900 show a high proportion of urban land devoted to urban parks and recreational sites for people, owing to the impact of the naturalist movement and the park movement which grew out of it.

Furthermore, he stated that the traditions and attitudes towards parks and recreation which were generated in the 19th century cities of Europe and the United States, are still prevalent in contemporary city planning and green space provision. Therefore, as Walker and Duffield (1983) noted, urban open space must be seen as a function of evolving industrial cities, and of the social and spatial organisation of rapidly growing communities.

It seems that urban open space, at least historically, was a by-product of the impact of 19th century industrialisation as well as prevailing social ideas, such as the Naturalist Movement in the European cities and the United States. These two main factors greatly affected the role of green space in cities.

This review, therefore, investigates the main social and historical factors which in-

fluenced the changing role of green space in cities with special reference to Britain (based on Walker and Duffield's study in 1983) and America (based on Cranz's study in 1982) in order to anticipate the new horizon for the future role of green space in Korean cities.

2. Britain

2.1 Nineteenth century

Walker and Duffield's (1983) and Laurie's (1979) overview of the history of green space in British cities, indicated that in the 19th century, green space must be seen as having had the function of improving the appalling urban environment which was caused by the Industrial Revolution. The urban parks provided in cities in 19th century Britain had been given the role of promoting the physical and moral welfare of the working class by the social reform movement of the middle and upper classes with respect to the ideals of social citizenship. Together with the residual products, social citizenship encouraged private philanthropy and led to the donation of money and land which enabled parks to be provided during this period.

The form of the Victorian Park, on the other hand, was characterised by manicured lawns, water features and winding paved paths. This form of the green space was strongly influenced by the role green areas were intended to fulfil, providing open space and fresh air within the town environment. The spaces were seen as not only forming a setting for the working classes to engage in civilised activities but also providing open space and fresh air within the town environment.

2.2 1900s-1930s

At the end of the nineteenth century, reformers' ideas were fast fading. But the town planning movement replaced ideals of social citizenship (Cullingworth, 1988). The town planning movement was concerned with the design and lay out of urban areas. It sought to control and regulate the urban form and gradually housing, planning and building regulations were formulated.

For instance, the Garden City Movement created by Ebenezer Howard was the Utopian ideal combination of the benefits of rural and urban living. According to Laurie (1979), "The garden city movement which flourished in England in the 1920s owes much to the idea that the best environment for living must include contact with nature in the form of gardens, tree planted streets following the contour of the land, parks and boulevards, and easy access to surrounding countryside. The new towns of Europe planned and built after the Second World War incorporated large acreages of parks and open space connected up with pedestrian and bicycle routes set in rustic linear strips" (Laurie, 1979, p. 59). It was proposed that garden cities should combine the virtues of town and country, by achieving medium densities wherein open space could be integrated with the built environment. It was a proposal to resolve both the congestion of cities and the isolation of rural life by combining the best qualities of city and countryside in autonomous new communities, to be located at some distance from existing cities, on tracts of about 6,000 acres, with 5,000 acres for farmland and 1,000 for the town. With respect to this idea, a prototype garden city was under construction at

Letchworth, and the housing forms and layouts used there have had a widespread effect on the planning of residential areas (Relph, 1987).

However, Howard (1985) himself stated that Town and country must be married, and out of this joyous union will spring a new hope, a new life, and a new civilization (Howard, 1985, p. 11). In fact, the idea of the garden city was more interested in social change than physical form, so to Howard's mind the garden city was a path to a higher plane of living, not merely a town on a background of open country (Aalen, 1992, p. 28).

The ideas of the garden city movement were gradually diffused, not only in Britain but also throughout the Western Europe following the translation of Howard's book *Garden cities of Tomorrow* into French in 1917 (Burtenshaw et al., 1991).

During the 1920s, the role of green space was changing as the Utopian tradition which was exemplified by the Garden Movement replaced 19th century reformer's ideals. Green space was designed to play an easily accessible countryside-like role in towns whose dwellers could enjoy the best qualities of town and country life.

On the other hand, in the 1930s there was growing concern about the physical and mental welfare of youth. The provision of green space during this period changed from the Victorian idea of public walks and pleasure grounds to the provision of playing fields and recreation grounds for active sports and physical training. The Physical Training and Recreation Act in 1937 gave local authorities extensive powers to provide and establish playing fields for sport and physical recreation. Moreover, the foundation of the Nation-

al Playing Fields Association (NPFA) in 1925 added 1,200 new playing fields by 1933 owing to many gifts of money and land following its formation. Traditionally, urban parks were mainly designed for the enhancement of urban features, whereas the recreation ground was designed first and foremost to meet the needs of active pitch sports. Consequently, recreation grounds are designed for use by the greatest number of the population. Thus the main role for urban open space during this period was to provide active sports ground for utilitarian uses in relation to the greater concern about the physical and mental welfare of youth.

2.3 1940s to 1970s

The three most significant changes which can be identified in the approach towards the provision of urban open space following the Second World War, were attempts to provide planned urban open space by seeking new resources for the provision of open space in urban areas, growing concern about indoor sports facilities and access to countryside open space rather than urban open space.

According to Walker and Duffield(1983), "Perhaps most fundamental of these has been the attempts to provide a basis for planning open space provision. The second change has been a widening of the resource base with new types of open space continually appearing as urban design and planning have developed. Finally, the third change which can be discerned has been a decline in the interest in urban open space at the expense of indoor sports facilities and open spaces in the countryside" (Walker and Duffield, 1983, p. 17).

During this period, open space standards, such as NPFA's acres per thousand population in 1925 and GLC's hierarchy-based open space system in 1968 were developed, not only to provide green space in urban areas but also to ensure more uniform levels of provision. However, the standards are often criticised for failing to consider what people really wanted as well as what role the urban green space should play in order to meet the people's leisure needs. Walker and Duffield stated that "All these approaches conceive open space planning primarily as a land-use issue. The focus is on how much open space to provide and, to a lesser extent, where to provide it. Little consideration was given in this period to the role of open space in meeting the leisure needs of urban dwellers or to the nature of the facilities provided" (Walker and Duffield, 1983, p. 24).

Nevertheless, these standards have remained essentially unchanged and designers consider them as the best solution to the urban open space provision without any empirical research.

Meanwhile, since World War Two new and various types of green spaces, such as pedestrian walkways, shopping malls, squares and plazas, vestpocket parks, and roof-top gardens have been added to urban areas. Children's playgrounds were also provided during this period in response to the public health movement. Conway stressed in his book *People's Parks* that the appearance of these new types of open space reflected the influences of the modernism, more precisely functionalism in terms of architecture or other planning fields, after World War Two. According to him, after the Second World War the influence of modernism, sus-

pended during the war, extended not only to architecture and town planning but also to parks. Massed displays of flowers and ornate planting were replaced by the equivalent of clean-sweep planning, bold sweeps of grass. This had the added advantage of being cheaper and easier to maintain, but was much less interesting from the park visitor's point of view (Conway, 1991, p. 8). It was Morris (1979) who argued that the main roles of green space from 1940s onwards, were to control urban form (for example the Green Belt concept) and to improve aesthetic and amenity quality of the cities. Another new function was developed by McHarg (1964) who not only advocated ecological function of open space in relation to the urban planning, but also concerned with ecological principles of countryside and global conservation.

Moreover, Britain has experienced a period of rapid social change. Leisure boom, amongst them, was the most outstanding phenomenon due to reduced working hours, longer holidays, longer periods of compulsory and optional education and rising wages. It is probable that the most important changes affecting leisure activities since the war, however, is rising mobility; car ownership levels in Britain increased from 2 million to 12 million between 1950 and 1970. This increase in mobility has changed people's focus from urban open to indoor sports and open space provision in the countryside for active recreation activities, such as camping, rambling, rock climbing, youth hostelling, ponytrekking, hang-gliding, or simply touring by car. According to Dower's Fourth Wave: The Challenge of Leisure in 1965, the use of weekends is profoundly affected by the car. Thousands of people, who in the 1930s might have gone by bus or tram to

the nearest park, now drive on a Sunday afternoon out of town or city into the countryside, find a 'beauty spot', and park. Some of them leave the car and walk: some visit a country house or ancient monument: most, however, stay in or near the car, eating, reading, sleeping and maybe throwing a ball around (Dower, 1965, p. 124). The foundation of the Sports Council in the Countryside Commission in 1968 fuelled the belief that urban open space is no longer essential for sport and recreation, and the traditional relationship between sports and open space has been changed. It is believed that urban open space has remained the preserve of the local authority parks department and open space was seen primarily as a site management and maintenance problem during this period (Walker and Duffield, 1983)

Three major social events, such as the foundation of NPFA, the influence of modernism or functionalism, and the rapid social change in relation to higher incomes, increased mobility and new life styles have had an impact on the design of green space as well as the role of open space in cities. Therefore, it is probable that green space during this time has played an important role in enhancing the ideal urban form which has resulted from the provision of land of adequate size and location to serve actual or perceived needs of the urban system for recreation, for urban ecology, aesthetic and psychological relief, and protection of agricultural land.

2.4 The 1970s and beyond

It has been argued that the role of urban open space should meet the needs of present day urban communities rather than the Vic-

torian public by an increasing number of writers from the 1970s onwards. Laurie (1979), among others, posed the questions: to what extent are present needs the same as those of earlier days and to what extent do the needs continue to be satisfied by parks laid out approximately one hundred years ago? Therefore, the views of today's consumers are important in order to understand the current role of green space in cities. Walker and Duffield (1983) suggested four distinctive roles of urban parks with regard to current studies of park users, such as site for passive and active recreational activities, community facilities and nature in cities.

According to them,

- 1) urban green spaces play a more important role for outdoor recreational sites than the countryside,
- 2) urban green spaces are local facilities for people who reside within 2km of a park,
- 3) urban green spaces are mainly used for passive and restorative recreational activities, and
- 4) urban open spaces, characteristics, such as natural features, peace and quiet and a sense of space and freedom are attribute to local people therefore, they serve as nature in cities for local people.

Recently, the ecological function of open space has been largely supported by environmentalists, such as Laurie (1979), Dower (1984) and Fraser (1984). This is not a new statement about the function of open space. As mentioned above the ecological function of open space is pioneered by Ian McHarg (1964) in America during 1960s, while it was not a popular movement during the same era in Britain.

According to Fraser, the 'Nature in the City' movement in the 1980s is largely un-

derpinned by landscape architects and ecologists who believe that land use allocation should be determined by ecological principles and the patterns of natural resources. He argued that "This movement is pressing for the creation of new forms of 'green space' in cities, along with the renovation of existing parks and open spaces' so that they are of a more natural character. It is argued that such green space' nurture a greater diversity of species which results in greater visual interest and richness of environment for urban dwellers (Fraser, 1984, p. 47). Fraser (1984) valued highly the natural character of urban green space with respect to its role not only as an amenity for urban dwellers but also for the enhancement of the urban environment. Consequently, Dower (1984) stressed the reasons why people need green in the city. He proposed three major roles of open space in cities: amenity, nature reserves, and recreational place. According to him, Why should we green the cities? Because man needs beauty: he needs nature, trees, greenery, birds, squirrels, the changing seasons, the links to the soil. Because we need space for leisure to re—create mind and body and soil, to run, play, fish, cycle, relax and socialise. Because green is part of that quality of place and life . . . (Dower, 1984, p. 12). For him, it seems that urban green space is important due to its naturalness which provides aesthetic and recreational opportunities for the people in cities. This movement more highly appreciates people as a part of the urban ecosystem than before, in order to promote the role of urban open space as a basis for human habitats in cities.

Conway writing more recently, has stated that the ecology movement and the impor-

Table 1. Some key differences between traditional and community design(Source : Francis, 1984, p. 15)

COMMUNITY DESIGN: (As practiced by community designers)	TRADITIONAL DESGN: (As practiced by larger landscape architecture and architectural planning firms)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Small scale - Local - Appropriate technology - Client redefined to include users - Process and action oriented - Concerned with meaning and context - Low cost - Bottom up design approach - Inclusive - Democratic 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Large scale - National / international - High technology - Corporate or Institutionally oriented - Single-/Client oriented - Building and project-oriented - High cost - Top down design approach - Exclusive - Authoritarian

tance of nature conservation have brought new levels of awareness of the role that urban parks can play today and some local authorities are putting aside wild areas in them, to provide a natural habitat for plants and animals . . . Every park needs its local friends, community-based groups, to put forward ideas for making them attractive places and a thriving natural habitat. If they are not used and if they do not find a satisfactory role in the urban environment of the next century, we may lose them permanently (Conway, 1991, pp. 8-9).

Walker and Duffield suggested that understanding the demands of contemporary society is necessary in order to identify the cur-

rent role of green space: If this unique and invaluable recreational and environmental resource is to meet the needs of the British people in the remainder of the 20th century then a considered appraisal is now most timely (Walker and Duffield, 1983, p. 79). It is probable that the role of green space from the 1970s onwards mainly depends on how people understand urban open space. Thus, it is necessary to identify the local people's needs of urban green space so as to explore the role of green space in cities.

Table 2. The main social factors which impact on the changing role of urban green space since the nineteenth century in Britain

Period	Social factors
Nineteenth century	Industrialisation, the naturalist movement, and social reform movement
1900 to 1930s	The Garden City Movement, the Physical Training and Recreation Act in 1937, the foundation of National Playing Field Association in relation to the growing concern about the physical and mental welfare of youth
1940s to 1970s	Hierarchy (1968) based open space planning standards, the Modernist planning impact and leisure boom in relation to reduced working hours, longer holidays, optional education and rising wages
1970s onwards	The Ecological Movement and community planning with respect to citizen involvement in landscape planning

In relation to idea, recently, landscape planning which involves a large degree of citizen participation is one of the most popular approaches in identifying the role of urban green space in relation to people's needs and values. This is quite different from that of the traditional modernist approach of urban green space planning which is based on traditional hierarchical standards. Community-involved design includes the users as clients, is low cost and democratic, while modernist planning is large scale, uses national or international models, corporate oriented, high cost and its solutions are imposed by experts who assume that they know what is the best for local residents. Table 1 presents the differences between traditional and community design approaches. Community involvement in landscape planning is now commonplace and indeed the most appropriate method to uncover the role of urban green space in terms of people in cities.

3. America

Cranz identified four stages of park development in term of social goals, historic conditions, activities and physical forms from the middle of the nineteenth century.

3.1 The Pleasure Ground : 1850-1900

Throughout the 1850s industrialisation, rapid urban growth and increased immigration had begun to change America. Basically, it is probable that the main role of urban parks during this period is the same as in 19th century Britain; providing fresh air in cities as well as offering recreational places for working class people.

In addition, American landscape architects, such as A. J. Downing, (whose influence was similar to J. C. Loudon in England) and F. L. Olmsted, the creator of New York City's Central Park, who drew on his love and knowledge of nature in the creation of natural scenery, were largely influenced by naturalist movement during this period so that they emphasised the pastoral landscape as the most appropriate and pragmatic way to provide relief from the city. The great landscape architect F. L. Olmsted, therefore, designed Central Park in New York to provide a pleasure ground for the hundreds and thousands of workers, who had no opportunity to spend their summers away from the city. The success of Central Park persuaded American people that parks laid out as pieces of natural scenery produced economic, social and aesthetic improvements for any city. According to Laurie, the five main concept of the park movement of major American cities in 1900 were: " First, that natural and natural looking parks, street trees and public gardens would improve the health of the people by providing space for exercise and relaxation in pure air. Secondly, it was believed that the opportunity to contemplate nature which public parks provided would contribute to a much needed improvement in morals. Thirdly, a fascination with the aesthetics of natural landscape in the second half of the nineteenth century led to the notion that parks and gardens would improve the property would be increased due to its association with parks. Fifthly, an increasing public interest in natural processes and the elements of nature, both plants and animals, fostered the introduction of educational arboreta and zoological gardens and contributed to the desire for natural aeras with in-

digenous plants as habitat for wild life” (Laurie, 1979, pp. 37–38).

During this period, urban parks played important roles not only for the provision of fresh air for the urban dwellers but also in offering places for introducing various cultures, a setting for family activities and a setting where all social classes could interact. This role of urban green space was largely influenced by the social reformers and landscape architects who were in turn influenced by the naturalist movement in relation to industrialisation in America during this era.

3.2. The Reform Park: 1900–1930

The ideas for playgrounds and regional parks rather than pleasure grounds were largely advocated by reformers during this era. It is probable that this idea originated from changing attitudes to leisure in the early 1900s in the United States. Cranz stated that the older word “leisure” suggested a stroll or a picnic in relation to a pleasure garden, whereas leisure time, which first appeared in *Recreation Magazine* in April 1907, “implies planning, scheduling and a gap to be filled” (Cranz, 1982, p. 62).

Meanwhile, many Americans believed that leisure meant ‘bad’ and unnecessary rather than ‘good’ before 1900, on the grounds of their religious backgrounds. According to Morris (1979), “The Calvinistic doctrine was based on an ethic of salvation through hard work and became one of the most fundamental and most revered values of the American Protestant world. Instead of work being a means of gaining time and money for leisure, it became a means to salvation and therefore it became an end in it-

self. Work was good and, in order to be good, one must work. Leisure was, therefore, unnecessary and also bad” (Morris, 1979, Chapter 2; p. 40).

This belief, however, has been changing since early 1900s due to larger incomes, earlier retirement, shorter working week and longer vacations allowing people have more time than before. As leisure time increased the sudden creation of municipal facilities: beaches, golf courses, stadiums, tennis courts and picnic areas were justified. The reformers argued that reform parks, such as playgrounds was a moral defence against the potential for chaos that they perceived in this new abundance of free time, just as the pleasure ground had been an antidote to the old lack of free space. Therefore, reform parks like playgrounds were located in nearby neighbourhoods rather than far from the community in order to meet people’s various recreational activity needs.

Planners were also agitating for the construction of children’s playgrounds. They argued that the one of the main reasons of failure of modern city was that the society did not protect the children from the home so they wandered the streets. Consequently, Cranz stated that “Many park reformers used the vulnerability of children as an argument for their cause.... Unlike the pleasure ground, which encouraged family excursions and recreation, the reform park segregated the ages and sexes. For the first time children became a distinct and important focus of park planning. The reform park movement, in fact, stemmed in part from the late nineteenth-century playground movement, and the early reform parks were often aptly called playgrounds” (Cranz, 1982, pp. 62–63).

The American reformers valued the playgrounds rather than the pleasure ground during 1900–1930 in relation to changing attitudes to leisure time in America, the same as the 1930s in Britain, where the Victorian idea of pleasure grounds gave its way to the provision of playing fields and recreation grounds for active sport. In addition, for the first time the reformers enthusiastically showed their concern and care about urban children. Accordingly, they appreciated that the playground for children should be located in the community rather than the pleasure ground located far from home. It is probable that the two major factors, such as the American people's changing attitude to leisure and enthusiastic reformers who highly appreciated the importance of urban children, changed the role of urban green space from pleasure ground for passive recreational activities, to playground for active sport as well as a neighbourhood park for children, in particular.

3.3. The Recreational Facility: 1930–1965

The Depression and the Second World War were two main social contexts which affected the role of green space of this era.

During the Depression, as Morris (1979) stated, American people paid more attention to outdoor recreation due to the less time to spend on commercial recreation activities.

Along the way, the park administrators gave up their idealistic efforts to use parks as a way of social reform in the 1930s. The changing attitude to park in cities is well represented by New York City's park commissioners, Robert Moses's annual report in 1930. According to the report, "We make no absurd claims as to the superior importance

and value of the particular service, we are called on to render, and we realise that budget making is a balancing of the comparative needs of numerous competing agencies" (Cranz, 1982, p. 101). Therefore, park officials no longer justified the park's existence as accomplishing needed social change. They adopted recreation as a municipal function, an essential of life like health, education, work and religion, rather than a zealous reform movement. Park administrators made every effort to increase the number of park facilities. Recreational facilities in New York, for instance, increased fivefold over the twenty years from the mid-1930s. During the 1930s the word 'recreation' was the password of the society.

After the Second World War, on the other hand, park provision declined: "In the United States public parks and play grounds became the casualties of post-Second World War modern community design and culture. The Victorian idea of the proud city with preserves of open space became obsolete. The new subdivisions, as they developed, were devoid of parks, libraries and playgrounds" (Morris, 1979, Chapter 3 p. 1). In addition, American people's attitudes towards recreation changed in relation to rapid economic and cultural changes. According to Goodman and Freund, "Following the Second World War, the increases in the numbers of people—over 100million extra people in the last sixty years in the United States—increasing leisure, shrinking work-weeks, greater mobility, higher incomes were some of the factors creating environmental change" (Goodman and Freund, 1968, p. 185 quoted from Morris, 1979, p. Chapter 3, p. 3).

Urban parks, however, were the only solution to solve the problems of this increased

leisure time due to the shorter worker week, long weekends, daylight saving time, improved automobiles and road systems, earlier retirement ages, and longer lives. All these meant that more people had more time than ever before after the Depression. More leisure time was something urban parks could make proper use of and, in so doing, parks could play their original role, as an 'urban safety valve' with respect to rapid changing social factors after the Depression and World War Two.

3.4. The Open-Space System: 1965 and after

Due to the idea of the parks as a recreation facility from 1930 until 1965, the park administrators only provided facilities such as playgrounds, swimming pools, parkways, parking lots, and open beaches; thus every city suffered from a lack of "open spaces", such as parks, plazas, and empty lots.

In the mid-1960s, however, the urban park was to be characterised as a concept of open space by municipal systems and federal programs as a political issue. The mayor of New York John Lindsay touched on park planning in his mayoral campaign which received national public attention. In addition, the American Institute of Park Executives changed its name to the National Recreation and Park Association in order to integrate the park and recreation program in the same year. Open space was regarded as space where 'anything goes' by citizens and professionals. Consequently, the idea of open space was characterised by the adventure playground and vest pocket park. For example, New York's Paley Park provided pleasant rest spots for women shopping down-

town and for clerks and business people on lunch breaks helping to keep the central business district attractive. In addition, the adventure playground popularised in the 1950s by Lady Allen of Hurtwood which permitted children's free play facilities under adult supervision.

It is Miller (1972) who explained the situation of the open space movement in America regarding the development of mini parks or vest pocket parks during this period; "Special attention is given to what are being termed mini parks or vest pocket parks in urban areas—inner city locations as well as other congested metropolitan settings. The federal government has provided grants to municipalities to build these tiny parks as part of the Federal Open Space Land Program administered by the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Under the federal regulations, a city must match the amount of the federal grant with local funds. Even in inner cities there are vacant lots and little of unused land. They are often nothing more than depositories for junk and trash" (Miller, 1972, Preface xv).

On the other hand, open space played an important role in reducing the crisis in the cities caused by the massive and disastrous flight of the middle-class from the inner city during this era. According to Cranz, "the new departure in park policy was a response to the so-called urban crisis during these years. The key element in the crisis was the wholesale middle-class flight from the inner city and the basic issue was whether community standards would be maintained in major American cities or the cities abandoned to those who had no means of escaping them" (Cranz, 1982, p. 137).

Meantime, the American city needed more from the urban parks' traditional role as a safety valve due to the years of riots and demonstrations during the 1960s. The urban mass congregated within the urban parks' boundaries and thus they served as symbols of the cosmopolitan ideal more than the street where people felt unsafe to walk. The American cities needed parks which were able to respond to these conditions.

In this context, after much self-examination, new ideas, innovations and possibilities were proposed for open space, although this was not much more than a gesture embracing the indefinite future. The image role of the new park-open-space was presented by Cranz (1982) as something of a performance artist: adventurous, colourful and seductive.

Table 3. The main social factors which impact on the changing role of urban green space since the nineteenth century in America.

Period	Social factors
The pleasure garden	Naturalist social reformers and industrialisation
The reform park	Changing attitudes to leisure and Reformers' concern and care about the urban children
The recreation facility	The depression. Second World War. Changing park provision policy, and Increased leisure time after the Depression
The open space system	Political campaign issues, and the crisis in the cities caused by the massive and disastrous flight of the middle-class from the inner city

4. Conclusions

The urban green space was one of the

most important factors in civilising the greatly expanded cities of the Industrial Revolution, which has existed as a part of the urban fabric since 19th century onwards in Britain and other developed countries, such as America. The role of green space in every stage in both countries has been changing in relation to social and historical factors. For instance, the industrialisation and naturalist movement in 19th century Britain as well as America, had a great impact on the role of green space in cities. The landscape architect in those days emphasised the natural looking type of park which provided space for exercise and relaxation in pure air. In addition, the reformers believed that the creation of public parks, together with the provision of free libraries and museums, designed in a desire to improve the welfare of the working classes.

However, the recent ecological movement and community planning movement from the 1970s onwards in Britain have been the main social factors which have had an impact on the changing role of urban green space. Meanwhile, key factors such as the crisis in the cities, caused by the massive and disastrous flight of the middle-class from the inner city from 1965 onwards, have influenced the changing of green space in American cities.

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